VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maué, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

"The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

"They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

"Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

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PRIMITIVE MAN

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MUNDURUCÚ MOIETIES

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INTRODUCTION

101 THE warrior tribe of the Mundurucú is divided into four chief groups: the Tapajós, the Madeira, the Xingú, and the Juruéna Mundurucú. The Tapajós Mundurucú, numbering about [161] 950 souls, inhabit the Tapajós river country from the Cururu to the Rio das Tropas, these two rivers being affluents of the Tapajós flowing in from the east. According to native tradition, the [197] Wiaunyen, who are related by language to the Tapajós Mundurucú, should be included with them; they live in the region around the source of the Rio Mutum, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing in from the right. I have no data on the population of the Wiaunyen. The Madeira Mundurucú came from the Tapajós in the second half of the eighteenth century and acquired territory for themselves in the State of Amazonas. They were visited by Martius. 101 Nimuendajú estimates their strength at approximately 800 souls. 161 The Xingú Mundurucú are the Kuruáya. They live in small groups of from one to four houses along the uppermost left tributaries of the Igarapé da Flecha, a large easterly tributary of

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[101] [61] the middle Rio Curuá do Iriry. According to Nimuendajú they number about 120 souls. The Juruéna Mundurucú are also called Njambikwáras.

From the Mundurucú are also supposed to be descended the Guajajára. They were settled on the Rio Gurupi near Cerzedello in 1818. So says Martius.

Tribal Names

[619] a. What do the Tapajós Mundurucú call themselves? A designation for the whole tribe does not exist. When a Mundurucú speaks of his fellow tribesmen, he simply calls them *wɛidyɛ'nyɛ*,[1] "our own", "our people". The word is compounded of the absolute inclusive pronoun *wɛidyɛ*, "we", and the plural suffix, *nyɛ*. Thus it has the meaning: "A great many of our own", "a plurality of our own". The Mundurucú language seems to have no word for homo, human being. Expressions like the following are used: "I belong to the Red Arara sib"; "he belongs to the Seringueira-itaúba sib"; "there come the Japu [people of Japu sib]"; "we met people of the *Ikupi*-wasp sib"; "some of the Mutum sib". For the list of sibs, see infra under social organization.

The Madeira Mundurucú, and the Kuruáya, that is, the Xingú Mundurucú, are held by the Tapajós Mundurucú to be relatives

126 [1] The following phonetic symbols are used: $\tilde{o}$ = German $\tilde{o}$ (palatal); $\tilde{i}$ = German $\tilde{u}$ (palatal); vowel with tilde = nasalized vowel; $\tilde{e}$ = nasalized $\hat{e}$; falling diphthongs in which both vowels are pronounced distinctly have small superior second vowel; c = German *sch*; $\tilde{n}$ = *ng* (guttural nasal); r = dental r; s = always voiceless; $ɪ$ as in English but pronounced with lips closer together; w as in English "water"; x = German *ch*; y as in English "yes". The spiritus lenis (stimmloser Kehlkopfexplosivlaut) occurs always between two vowels, and often before words beginning with a vowel; in these cases it is not indicated in transcription; in other cases it is indicated by q. Weak sounds are enclosed in brackets. Colon after vowel = long vowel. Accent is on last syllable, except where otherwise indicated by accent mark (') following vowel.

The palatal vowels $\hat{e}$ and $\hat{i}$ are acoustically related to German $\tilde{o}$ and $\tilde{u}$, but they are not identical with them. Nimuendajú writes me (personal letter, 1931): "A genuine ö and ü, such, for example, as occur in German, are found in none of the more than seventy Indian languages which I have heard with my own ears. Up to the present, I have heard these two sounds only in Urupá; but they do not occur even in Torá, which is most closely related to Urupá".

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or kin, *barĩ'puye*. The Xingú Mundurucú are also called by the Tapajós Mundurucú *Tyurari-rixat*, "Tauarirana tribe or clan", as they make their loin, arm and ankle bands out of tauarirana bark. The linguistically related Wiaunyen are called *i baarem*, "hidden"—hidden in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Mutum.

b. By what names are the Mundurucú known to other tribes? These names differ much. The Mundurucú are called among the Apiacá, their friends, by the name of Pari, or Itāwā't, or Madurukú; among the Bacahiri, Mandurukú; among the Chipaya, Karuriá; among the Juruna, Kaluriá; among the Kuruáya, Karudiat (compare Mundurucuan *Karu-rixat*, Red Arara sib); among the Matanawí, Paici; among the Mura, Patisi; among the To:gapi't, Tcuruvi (?); among the Pareci, Saruma (see infra); among the Torá, Kaubek; among a more distant tribe, Akékakuré. Among the Dyurupêa, a "giant" Indian tribe, the Mundurucú are called Tapêaĩ'n. The Dyurupêa say: "When we come, they cry *tapêaĩ'ñ* and then flee". The reference is here to the tribe which the Apiacá call Urupêá. The Dyurupêa must speak Apiacá. In Apiacá, *tapiaĩ'ñ*, *tapêaĩ'ñ*, means "Indian, stranger". Among the Widadawat, the Mundurucú are called Tupaiyu'n, so the Mundurucú say.

c. How are the Mundurucú called by the "civilized" people? The most common designation is Mundurucú. Nothing certain is known about the origin or meaning of this name, so I shall not go into the matter here. They are also called Caras Pretas, "Black Faces", on account of the dark (not black) tattooing on their faces. Their third name is Paikise. The word comes from the Lingua Geral, a corrupted Tupi-dialect, and means "Father Knife", as the Mundurucú were known as head hunters, although not as cannibals.

In the State of Matto Grosso the Mundurucú were known as Sarumá (see supra). As Von den Steinen noted, they lived there next to the Apiacá, and disturbed all the tribes of the Arinos and Xingú region by their attacks.

d. How do the Mundurucú call outsiders? Every non-Mundurucú, be he a "Brown-shirt" or be he some one with a pretension to a veneer of culture, is a *pariwat*, a foreigner, to the "headhunters". But of course the Mundurucú living on the

[see errata sheet, Category 116, p. 57A – Analyst]

Indians in the River Regions of Tapajôz

101 726 [385] There are still more tribes in the area between the Tapajôz and Madeira, an area still today almost inaccessible, but of these tribes we have hardly any other information than that they are enemies of the Mundurucu, by whom they are being persecuted to the point of extinction. The same is true of the Jumas, Parentintins, and the Araras who live near the sources of the Rio Mauhe and from there westward. Probably to escape this persecution the Jumas and the Araras, the latter distinguished by their graceful feather finery, have moved to the parish of S. Antonio de Araretama (Borba) on the eastern bank of the Madeira, 25 legoas above the river mouth. And the Parintintins, described as a very industrious, [386] accomplished tribe live partly in the village of Jatapûon, on the left bank of the river of the same name. Whether this tribe is to be considered identical with the so-called Coroados, "the Shorn," who are also supposed to be living in the Tapajôz is uncertain. Certain is, however, that [727] the skulls of their enemies, which the Mundrucûs preserve, show a shorn pate. According to other reports the Parintintins are said to have the inside of their fore arms tattooed at the wrist and to be cannibals. Castelnau [Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud] names them among the tribes still at war with the Brasilians (III, 307). •

> "Earlier the following were mentioned [as living] on the Arinos and Juruena: the Apaunuariâs, Marixitâs, Apicuricûs, Muquiriâs, Ereruas. No trace is left of these, but there is a group known as the Anyurias and another called the Apecuariâs. Hyspodiaei are sometimes seen among the Indians of the Tapajûz. Revista trimensal 1847. Ser. II Tom. 2, p. 5. 96.

000 All these tribes have little claim to our attention and I shall leave undecided whether those mentioned first (a - h) are fragments of the Apiacas and Mundrucus who are dominant here or whether they have

171 But they
881 do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Maues. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

241 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[161] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[439] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Würzschilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajoz now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
361 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[127] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
●101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from motumun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the thief [Mitnchmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

726 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[942] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already determined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[583] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage, for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons
888

*The hopelessly degenerate Camés, Voturées, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[101] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tamepuyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old people" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
[302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
[175] deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
000 the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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THE MUNDURUCU[1]

By Donald Horton

TERRITORY AND NAME

[101] [131] [197]

The *Mundurucú* are a *Tupí*-speaking people in the southwestern portion of the State of Pará and the southeastern corner of the State of Amazonas, Brazil (map 1, *No. 1;* map 4; lat. 5°–8° S., long. 56°–60° W.). When first encountered by Europeans in the late 18th century, the *Mundurucú* were a warlike people, aggressively expanding their territory along the Tapajóz River and adjacent areas. Their expansion reached its limits at the beginning of the 19th century, when they were defeated by the Neo-Brazilians. Since then their territory has dwindled; remnant settlements are located on the Canumá and several of its tributaries (Abacaxis, Paracury, Apucitáua), in the municípios of Maués, Parintins, and Juritĺ, and on the Cururú River (a southeastern tributary of the Tapajóz). The principal settlements are located along the middle Tapajóz River and especially on its southeastern tributary, the Rio de Tropas (between lat. 6° and 7° S., and long. 56° and 57° W.). Communities formerly established on the lower Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Amazon have been absorbed or wiped out by Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Kruse (1934) distinguishes four regional groups of the *Mundurucú:* The Tapajóz River group, living on both sides of the Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Cururú River; the Madeira River *Mundurucú,* on the Secudury, a tributary of the Canumá; the Xingú River *Mundurucú,* known also as the *Curuaya,* on the uppermost left tributary of the Igarapé de Flecha, itself an eastern tributary of the middle Rio Curuá do Jrirí; and the Juruena River *Mundurucú,* known also as the *Njambikwaras.* Nimuendajú (personal communication) regards the name "*Madeira Mundurucú*" as unsuitable, since the rivers on which this group is located do not flow into the Madeira; he also believes that the *Curuaya,*

[1] The writer is indebted to Dr. Curt Nimuendajú, who through personal knowledge of the *Mundurucú* and familiarity with literary sources not available to the writer, was able to provide additional information on the distribution and history of the tribe which has been utilized in the present account.

[128] Where the literature clearly indicates that a custom is no longer practiced, the past tense is employed; otherwise the account is given in the present tense even though it is probable that much of the culture so described no longer persists.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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• 161 though related linguistically to the *Mundurucú*, are to be regarded as an independent tribe (this volume, p. 221), and that the *Njambikuara* (see *Nambicuara*, p. 361) are not properly classified as *Mundurucú* on any basis.

Martius (1867) reported a group related to the *Mundurucú*, known as the *Guajajara*, who were settled on the Gurupí River near Cerzedello in 1818. The writer has found no further reference to this name in the literature dealing with the *Mundurucú*. (The *Guajajara-Tembé* are a tribe near the east coast of Brazil, page 137.)

According to native tradition, the *Wiaunyen*, at the headwaters of the Mutum River, should be classed as a subtribe of the *Mundurucú*.

The *Mundurucú* refer to themselves as *Weidyénye* (our own, our people) (Kruse, 1934). *Mundurucú* (*Mundurukú*, *Mundurucũ*, *Mondurucũ*, *Mundrucũ*, *Moturicũ*, etc.) is the name applied to them by the *Parintintin*, in whose language it denotes a species of ant (Strömer, 1932). A nickname widely used by Neo-Brazilians is *Paiquizé* (*Paikyce*) (Martius, 1867) or *Paikise*, meaning "father knife" or "head-cutter." They are sometimes called *Caras Pretas* ("black face"), in reference to their facial tattooing. (See Kruse (1934), who gives an extensive list of names used by other tribes to designate the *Mundurucú*.)

POPULATION

161 In 1887, Martius estimated the *Mundurucú* at 18,000 to 40,000, but Strömer believes that, on the basis of known settlement sites, a maximum population of 10,000 at the period of Contact is indicated. Tocantins (1877) listed 21 villages with populations ranging from 100 to 2,600 and a total population of 18,910. According to Campana, there were at the turn of the century about 1,400 individuals in 37 communities in the Tapajóz area. The largest village had 700 inhabitants, and the smallest less than a dozen. Strömer (1932) found 19 settlements with a total of 1,200 to 1,400 inhabitants in 1931, and fewer still in 1937. Both Campana's and Strömer's figures refer only to the population of the main area of concentration. Kruse gives a population of 950 for the Tapajóz group and 800 for the Canumá group.

HISTORY

175 726 The first reference to the *Mundurucú* was published in 1768 when Monteiro Noronha[3] listed the "*Maturucu*" among the tribes on the Mauées River. In 1769, according to Manoel Baena (1885), the *Mundurucú* began to move northward along the Tapajóz River, forcing out or exterminating the *Jaguain* (*Javaim*, *Hy-au-ahim*), a warlike, cannibalistic tribe then occupying the middle Tapajóz. A "*Mondruci*" settlement a day's journey below the mouth of the Arinos was reported by Almeida Serra in 1779. The *Mundurucú* reached and made unsuccessful attacks upon

[3] The writer has not seen all of the sources mentioned in this sketch of *Mundurucú* history; the material here summarized has been in part provided by Dr. Nimuendajú (personal communication).

The Munduruc[illegible] are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors and with the *lingua geral*. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Urubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Horton, 1948, p. 273.

121 **Mundurucú Indians, A Dual System of Ethics**

[101] The Mundurucú Indians, an aboriginal people of central Brazil, share with most of mankind a propensity to apply one moral standard to relationships among themselves and quite another to their conduct towards the rest of humanity. One may say that this phenomenon is universal. This paper shall maintain the view common to many social scientists that ethical values, whether norms implicit in observed behavior or overt ideals, are parts of social systems. It is to be expected, therefore, that desired and valued behavior will be different among members of any one system than between participants in different systems.

In a sense, all members of modern.

[p. 369 (B)]

[pp. 1-369 (A) not processed for the files. - Analyst]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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I. HABITAT AND HISTORY

The Munduruc Indians are a tribal group of some 1,250 people living on the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. The remnants of a formerly much more numerous population, they have maintained a considerable part of their native culture despite more than one and a half centuries of contact with Brazilian society. Linguistically, the Mundurucú are Tupian-speaking, but their language is not mutually intelligible with the so-called classical Tupian of the Brazilian littoral. Rather, they appear to form a Tupian substock in company with the near-by Shipaya, Curuaya, and Juruna Indians of the Xingú River drainage. Other cultural characteristics indicate some discontinuity between the Mundurucú and the bulk of the Tupian-speaking peoples and suggest that Mundurucú history had a relatively independent course from that of the coastal groups. Some of these differences are manifest in mythology and religion.

Habitat

The Mundurucú habitat is rather different from what might commonly be expected in the Amazon Valley. Although stretches of flat jungle terrain abound, the area is in a northward-reaching finger of the Planalto de Mato Grosso; the topography is characterized by low hills, and the forests are interspersed with rock outcroppings and large stretches of grassy savannah. Actually, the northernmost extension of these central Brazilian highlands overlooks the Amazon behind the city of Santarém at the mouth of the Tapajós River.

The traveler en route to the Mundurucú country usually ascends the Tapajós River from Santarém; recent completion of an emergency landing field some 300 miles upstream can shorten the weeks-long trip to a matter of two hours flight.[1] During the first 150 miles of the water route the steamer or launch carries one up the deep blue and usually tranquil stream between shores that are at first more than 10 miles apart, but which narrow to a width of about one mile. The hills on either side rise to a few hundred feet and are covered with the vegetation characteristic of most areas of terra firma in the Amazon. At the point where the more elevated country and the banks of the river finally merge to form a narrow gap, the Tapajós River plunges furiously over the almost impassible rapids called the Cachoeira de Maranhão. These rapids form an effective block to navigation, and the traveler must debark and by-pass them by truck or on foot. The truck and the road, which are frequently not usable, are the property of a rubber-trading concern that maintains warehouse and commercial facilities at the lower end of the rapids. The company town has a population of less than 1,000, but it is the metropolis and entrepôt of the upper Tapajós; one can continue for 1,000 miles farther upstream without finding a settlement one-fifth that size.

The next stage of the trip is made in a shallow-draft diesel launch, especially built to negotiate rapids. The shores of the lower Tapajós River are lined with pleasant sand beaches and are broken by occasional villages, but the upper reach

[1] The reader will find it convenient to consult the maps on pp. 2 and 3 during the following discussion.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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THE SETTING

The Mundurucú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Assú, Secundurý, and Abacaxís rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River.

The Mundurucú are usually classified as a Tupian-speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Mundurucú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Mundurucú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identification of the Nambikuara as the "Juruena Mundurucú" are erroneous.[3] The Mundurucú originally were an autonomous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact.

The present-day Mundurucú population consists of about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea

[1] Nimuendajú, 1938, p. 975.
[2] Kruse, 1934, p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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meters, but during July in the same period an average of only 6.05 mm. fell. The extremes during this seven-year ranged from 530.4 mm. in January, 1947, to no rainfall in July, 1945, and again in 1951. The rivers rise and fall with the rains, overflowing their banks in November or December and receding in May.

Contrary to popular belief, the heat is seldom excessive in this part of Brazil. Although the sea breezes that blow up the Amazon from the sea as far as Manaos every evening are not felt in the upper Tapajós, the temperature usually drops at night to very comfortable levels. It was my experience that one could use pajamas and two cotton blankets at night; the Mundurucú, who do not possess such luxuries, generally sleep in their cotton clothes and awaken at three or four in the morning to light a small fire beneath their hammocks. There are no great variations in temperature from one month to another. Days are slightly warmer and nights cooler during the dry season, but the lower humidity makes it more agreeable than the rains. Maximum temperatures throughout the year range between 87° and 95° F. (30° and 35° C.), minimum temperatures between 63° and 77° F. (17° and 25° C.). During June, a cold wind blows from the distant Andes and chills the entire region for two to four days. Temperatures then fall to as low as 63° F. (17° C.).

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Mundurucú habitat is surely not an earthly paradise, but neither is it the "green hell" so often pictured by royalty-minded travelers and writers. The Brazilians of the Tapajós River, however, do live in a social and economic hell. They distinguish themselves from the Indians by the self-designation of *civilizado* or, less often, *cristão* (Christian). The Indian is commonly called *caboclo* by them,

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648 which, ironically, is what the townsman calls the backwoodsman. The Brazilian residents in the upper Tapajós are scattered along its banks and the lower sections of its larger tributaries as far south as 9° S lat. on the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. Beyond this point the country is inhabited by the Nambikuára, Tapayuna, and Tupí-Cawahíb Indians, who are all hostile to the whites and effectively prevent further penetration. The Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó Indians, who live to the east of the Mundurucú, have raided the upper Tapajós in recent years, and at the time of our visit fear had induced all inhabitants of the east bank of the river between the Tropas and Jamaxím rivers to move to safer areas.

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249 The local Brazilians have an enormous fear of hostile Indians. This is especially true of recent immigrants to the Amazon, and it is reinforced by a general feeling of insecurity in the jungle environment. The natives of the States of Ceará and Piauí who have been attracted to the area through aspirations of wealth in rubber, are frequently heard to remark that "life here is a sacrifice"; or "it is better to starve in town where there is movement and people than in this desolation." Inhabitants born in the area are, of course, accustomed to it, but they recognize their own poverty and the despair of their condition. Life in the jungle is difficult; the people are poor and often hungry and deprived of the barest necessities of life. Rubber, the basic export of the area, once offered rich returns to collectors, and especially to traders, but the latex of
[439] the wild *Hevea* is now submarginal on the world market; the population engaged in its extraction has correspondingly experienced a forty-year period of depression.

648 The governments of Brazil and of the State of Pará are remote from the region. On rare occasions, one or two policemen from the town of Itaituba, the seat of the mu-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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social solidarity and social fission

619 [621] Each Munduruc̀ú village is an autonomous political unit, and there is no permanent multicommunity decision-making body. However, the Munduruc̀ú feel themselves to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dẽ nyũ*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people," and the *pariwat*, a term which is applied to all non-Munduruc̀ú. All the "people" consider themselves to be related, and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship system. All, however, are expected to show coöperation and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the whites, the *pariwat* are enemies and, in former times, were the objects of warfare.

[p. 126]

who had cuckolded him. The village reacted to his charges ambivalently. They were highly amused at his discomfiture and humiliation, but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of department, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village soon became ranged on two sides. Bibel's family supported him, but the majority of the population were ranked solidly against him. Thus, the threat of conflict had spread from Cabitutu to Cabruá. And Bibel ran back and forth between Cabitutu, where they plotted against his life, and Cabruá, where they took more covert measures against him through his wife.

The balance of power and of moral correctness lay with Bibel's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made most difficult by virtue of the fact that Bibel had almost ceased to be a social person--the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the curtain fell on our little drama, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was seen most clearly when, shortly before our departure, Caetano fell from a palm tree and lay seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Cabitutu would kill him as soon as they were assured of his father's death, Bibel came immediately to Cabruá and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Bibel approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tapajós River." I asked his why, and, in fine Bibel style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Bibel knew that his life as a Munduruca was finished.

NOTES

(1) Munduruká Indians are a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1952-53 with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Munduruca social structure and the positive evaluation of male solidarity has already been published in an article entitled "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion" (American Anthropologist 59:1018-35, 1957).

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Headhunter's Heritage (Berkeley, 1960).

2: Steinen-472E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B 195 648 /391 cont./ enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific information about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

B [113] * Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

BM 195 648 [113] M [131] A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning: it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks: BM [101] "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldeiert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this BM [131] passage, that the Baikïrí lived in the province of Pará; among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. B BM [101] The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

B BA 173 648 The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was